it seems likely that this is only permissable after the two have been engaged to be married. 605 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence to social status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quickly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

593 [183] [851] [606] [586] [592]

woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Ruwanda in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Yalewuh (Arabic, "Prayers") and Yilah ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, hewan ajing ("friend of the infant"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

The female relatives of the mother remain with her for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among the townspeople. The ceremony for the first one is much more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rwanda. Deformed infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then "unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, as noticed previously, its foster-mother, kiyo, and the child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is established with money and food. In the event that a nurse cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are often left unattended in this respect for some length of time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

any withhold until this time, and a new contract must [874]
signed if the pair are to come together again. In the
ter sequence, that of triple divorce, the woman also
ceives the children and her personal possessions. A
rtain length of time, the idda, corresponding roughly to
ree menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman [863]
comes pregnant during it, her former husband is responsible [867]
ble for the maintenance of herself and the child.
ildren usually remain with the mother in divorce, but
eir father may claim them after they have reached a
rtain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go
the court of the mulo with witnesses, and obtain a
rtificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which
se he is entitled to "put her away." A woman can only [862]
itiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is
nally forced to pronounce her away. She also may ob-
in a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself
d by this means leave her husband, although the latter,
om perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce.
here are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties
these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic
risprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat
em in detail here.

The principal causes of divorce in Rwanda are in-
mpatability and barrenness. In the first case, the
dge or mulo and the relatives of the pair attempt to
concile them, because, for the relatives, financial trans-
ctions of a large scale, sometimes embarrassing, usually